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Security Information

ER-2-7406

31 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM : Deputy Director (Plans)

SUBJECT : Proposed Presidential Statement on the
subject of Psychological Warfare

1. In response to your inquiry of very recent date, the status of the draft of the proposed Presidential Statement (which was originally prepared by [] at the suggestion of Mr. Sargeant or Mr. Phillips) is that Messrs. Matthews, Nitze and Sargeant have all seen this draft and do not particularly like it. Their main objections seem to be that they question the advisability of any statement by the President at this time on the subject of psychological warfare because they feel that there has been much harmful publicity about this subject resulting from the Kersten Amendment, the O. K. Armstrong Forum, the newspaper articles by Anthony Leviero, James Reston et al, etc. - all tending to create an unfavorable atmosphere for a Presidential Statement; and also because they would prefer a much more modified and subdued tone in any statement which the President might make.

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2. We have several times reminded Messrs. Sargeant and Phillips that the President may call for the draft at any time - especially in view of the statement which he made in his letter to Gordon Gray which was to the effect that an early occasion may be found for the President's making a statement which will use the most significant parts of the report. We have acknowledged that this is predominantly a question of overt foreign policy and that the State Department should prepare a draft suitable and acceptable to itself, receiving such assistance by way of suggestions, etc. as we may be able to contribute.

3. Here the matter now rests.

4. Mr. Hedden's comments on [] draft are all helpful and are, in many cases, identical to comments which I gave [] but which he had not incorporated in the copy of the draft which he furnished to Mr. Hedden. I believe that it would be useful for [] to have a copy of Mr. Hedden's comments and I request that you release a copy of this memorandum to [].

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DOCUMENT NO. 2
CHANGE IN CLASS ☐

DECLASSIFIED
CLASS. CHANGED TO: TS S (C)

AUTH: HR 10-2

DATE 17/3/84 REVIEWER: []

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5. In this general connection your attention is particularly invited [redacted] of 27 March. You will note that our people [redacted] strongly recommend a Presidential Statement branding the Soviet biological warfare campaign as fraudulent. This suggestion [redacted] is very similar to one of our recommendations to the State Department, namely that the Soviet and Communist biological warfare propaganda campaign, and the necessity squelching this by a high level statement, could provide a most suitable opportunity on which to peg the more lengthy Presidential Statement on the general subject of psychological warfare. I am asking [redacted] to bring this message and estimate to the attention of Messrs. Sargeant and Phillips, because of the direct bearing which it has upon the other related questions.

[redacted]

FRANK G. WISNER

Attachments (3)
(ER-2-7080)
(ER-2-7080a)
(Cable In 30829)

cc: Mr. Hedden
ADPC
C/PY

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21 March 1952

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NOTES ON DRAFT

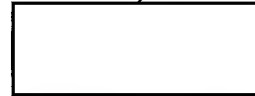
The over-all effect, the tone, and most of the language of this draft is excellent. The following comments are offered for consideration:

1. Nowhere in the draft do we specifically deny the allegations that we have used BW. I would take out the last $2\frac{1}{2}$ lines of Introduction No. 1 and substitute a flat unmistakable, categorical denial.
2. In the first line of Introduction No. 1, I would include the Communist leaders in Czechoslovakia.
3. In the paragraph in the middle of page 2, Introduction No. 1, I would add some such sentence as this:

"We Americans well know about these epidemics because during the years of peace we sent many of our best men and millions and millions of dollars to fight them and to bring relief to their sad victims."
4. In the main text, I would tighten up the beginning. I think there would be no loss in eliminating everything after the (61) first paragraph and before the second sentence of the second paragraph on page 4, substituting a short connecting sentence.
5. I think the reference to "common penny" ending the paragraph at the top of page 5 is an unfortunate figure and would eliminate this sentence.
6. I would eliminate the short paragraph in the middle of page 6.
7. I would suggest "millions" instead of "12,000,000" at the bottom of page 10.
8. I would eliminate the second sentence in the last paragraph on page 11.
9. On page 13 in the second full paragraph, I would change "remotely approached" to "exceeded."
10. In several places instead of the expression "we and our allies", I would consider saying "we of the United Nations."
11. I question the wisdom of outlining specific courses of action on pages 19 and 20. If we must be specific, I would change No. 4 and No. 5 as they are too broad. I would prefer to substitute for the entire list an appeal to the people of

Russia to throw off the evil gang which has enslaved them. The weakness of a list is that it ties your hands or commits you to too much. By trying to avoid overcommitting yourself, you necessarily omit obvious things such as the defense of the people still free in Asia, which may be interpreted as meaning that you will not intercede and as an invitation to further aggression.

12. The paper is much stronger if it is ended at the bottom of page 22 before the last sentence. Certainly the sentence beginning in the fifth line from the end of page 23, which is particularly inappropriate today, and all the material on page 23 weakens the punch of page 22.



Stuart Hedden

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS—Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM

NO.

DATE

MAR 20 1952

| TO | ROOM NO. | DATE | | OFFICER'S INITIALS | COMMENTS |
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21 March 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: INSPECTOR GENERAL
DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: Draft Speech

1. This is still a first draft. Save for a few changes which I made at the suggestion of Frank Wisner, I have made no attempt to rework it.

2. It has two introductions--each of which leads into the "main text".


Chief
Psychological Staff Division

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Attachment
Draft speech

copy 3 of 6

INTRODUCTION NO. 1

During the past ~~four~~ days the Chinese Communists have leveled a series of official accusations against the United Nations forces in Korea charging us with having unleashed a bacterial warfare attack against the North Koreans and Chinese Communists armies.

There can be no doubt whatever that these accusations were ~~advanced~~ ^{abetted} by the Kremlin and that they represent a new and very serious turn in the course of the Soviet Union's psychological offensive against the free world, in general, and against the United States in particular.

But unlike most of the Kremlin's big lie attacks of the past, this one seems to have been "pin-pointed" by specifying the dates and places and even the methods by which these alleged attacks have taken place. I wish to call particular attention to the fact that this new lie is also accompanied by ^{the} ominous suggestion that United Nations fliers who are captured will be treated as "war criminals."

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These accusations are of a very different nature from the ones made in the summer of 1950 when we were accused of introducing potato-bugs into the agricultural areas of East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland - accusations which were so silly that they amused the whole world at the time.

The present charges are intended seriously and ~~are being made~~ ^{represent a} new level of violence in the Soviet's P.W. offensive. ~~now because~~ Each year at this season, Cholera, Bubonic Plague and Typhus occur, usually in endemic, but sometimes in epidemic proportions, in parts of China, Manchuria and North Korea. You will recall that a similar situation occurred last spring. ^{If} The present outbreak of disease ^{is a} ~~seems to be~~ serious one, ~~consequently,~~ [^] from the Kremlin's point of view this is an ideal time to launch their monstrous charge that we are employing bacteriological weapons.

Because of the horrible nature of this new big lie and because of the extremely serious consequences that are sure to follow any ill treatment of United Nations fliers on the charges that they are "war criminals", I consider that a time has come when I must talk with you very frankly about the whole nature of the attack to which the Free

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World is being subjected.

End of Introduction No. 1

INTRODUCTION NO. 2

At _____ hundred hours this morning, I received a message from General Ridgway informing me that the Communist negotiators have broken off the Truce Talks at Panmunjom.

Thus _____ months of unremitting efforts on the part of the United Nations representatives have finally ended in total failure.

The tragic and sordid story of the Communists' premeditated action in wrecking the conference is related in great detail by General Ridgway's report released this morning to the United Nations.

As his report indicates, the real wreckers are the men in the Kremlin who pulled the strings activating the Chinese puppets and put the fatal words in their mouths.

I am sure you all share with me the feeling of regret with which we must view the resumption of full scale hostilities in Korea.

The gravity of the existing situation--which is being imposed upon the Free World by the Kremlin and its cohorts--demands a critical review of the whole nature of the attack to which the Free World is

Main Text

In our country, as in all true democracies, it is the people who control the government and not the government which controls the people. So, in the long run, your government can set its course and hold to it only so long as that course reflects the will of the Nation.

In my position as President I have access to a great body of information which the average citizen obviously does not have. It is my duty to use that information in shaping our foreign policy and guiding it along wise and prudent lines with primary emphasis on the security of the Union.

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But facts and information are of no value unless they are correctly interpreted. So tonight I propose to discuss with you my interpretation of the menacing character of certain international events which have taken place in the past six years.

These historical events are so striking and their significance has become so clear that only the blind can fail to see the emerging pattern of the international situation, or fail to recognize that the world has arrived at "a turning point in human affairs".

We face today one of the great convulsions of history. The world in which we live is being changed by strong currents of thought and feeling—currents released by the American and French Revolutions in the 18th Century, by the Industrial Revolution in the 19th and by two destructive wars and the Russian Revolution in our own time. This is no longer the world into which most of us were born. We may be sure that it will be a far different world before we die.

In this time of crisis and stress, the American nation has risen to a new role. We may speak of this role without vanity or self-consciousness because we did not seek it but rather tried to avoid it.

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Our role, as we have now expressed it in our national policies, is to help lead the nations through this time of turmoil in such a way that in the end there shall be an expansion—not a reduction—of the areas of freedom and knowledge. Expressed in another way, our role is to build a bridge over the abysses of confusion and frustration so that humanity may safely cross. If we can succeed in this role, the peoples of the world may be spared the sacrifice of human life and achievement which accompanied other great convulsions of history, and each nation may find release for its energies and genius in an era of peace and human dignity.

But the bridge must be built of a substance that is stronger than steel and more enduring than stone. It must be built of Faith.

Now, Faith is a big word, perhaps the biggest word in any language, for it is and will forever remain the common property of all mankind.

The great religions and cultures of East and West vary in many respects and yet all of them are marked by certain common principles—principles without which no religion or culture can survive—nor human society long endure.

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Each is characterized by a faith that there are truths to be sought and found—a truth about nature, about man, and about society—a truth with respect to natural law and order—a truth with respect to human reason—a truth with respect to human rights and human justice and a truth about truth itself.

This nation was founded upon such a faith and our founding fathers gave particular emphasis to their belief in individual liberty. We believe that freedom of thought, freedom of conscience, and freedom of decision are sacred. We believe that if these freedoms are denied to any man he becomes immediately dehumanized.

We believe that men do not exist for the sake of the state, but that the state exists for the sake of men. That is why we believe in the principle of government only by the consent of the governed.

We believe men have a right to differ in their opinions with each other and with the governments under which they live and the right to express those differences openly and without fear of punishment whether by word of mouth, or in the press, or over the air waves. We believe

that men have the right to worship God as they see fit. We believe they have the right to be secure in their persons and houses against unreasonable searches and seizures, in fact, we believe that a man's house is his castle. We believe that every man shall be held innocent until he is found guilty by a jury of his peers. We also believe that telling the truth is the common penny,—the basic standard of exchange between men and women and children over all the earth.

These are the principles in which we believe and which we will maintain with all our strength and for which, if necessary, we will fight and die. And they are not just American principles—they are the creed of free men everywhere—a treasured heritage which has been won through the striving of mankind over the past forty centuries.

I do not need to tell you that today, this heritage is in peril. I do not need to tell you that it is being challenged by an opposing philosophy of life which holds that the individual is worth nothing, that he is the servant of the State and that the State is the supreme master. This philosophy holds that the State shall determine what the individual shall think, what he shall say, what he shall hear and what

he shall see. That the State shall determine where and under what conditions he shall work and what lies he shall tell under oath. That if he will not lie voluntarily that the State shall have the right to compel him to do so under drugs and torture. This philosophy also holds that the State has a right and duty to maintain a vast secret police force to spy on its citizens, to sentence them, without trial, to death or to slave labor. If this philosophy prevails it will mean a return of all the ancient barbarities and the destruction of all civilized standards of behavior.

The issue is joined and can no longer be evaded. The philosophies and beliefs of the free world are now in mortal combat with those of the slave world.

This is a time for accurate judgment and for plain speech, and tonight, I intend to call things by their right names. I want to make crystal clear to friend and foe alike that we recognize exactly what is at stake; that we understand and that we shall never, for one moment, forget the nature of the menace which confronts us. This menace, this "Evil Thing" which threatens good men everywhere is something far more

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sinister than the Soviet army and the Soviet air force--formidable as these may be. It is something new in human experience--a hitherto unknown plague which has begun to contaminate the entire world, and which no "wonder-drug" yet discovered can control.

For these wicked men in the Kremlin have been pumping a form of poison gas into the world's atmosphere which strikes at men's minds rather than at their bodies.

To this end they have constructed a powerful and intricate apparatus both within and without their own country which brews and releases this poison. Day by day, hour by hour, minute by minute the Soviet pumps regulate the pressures and keep the flow of lies, hate and distortions moving into the ether and over the wires. Never before have free men everywhere been threatened by such a monstrous weapon in the hands of such a sinister foe. The attack is both a vicious and a most formidable one, and in my opinion it will continue and even increase in violence.

But let them make no mistake about it; we have finally taken their measure. We now know that it is not just this or that economic system that is threatened; not just this or that position of national advantage--

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not even this or that particular government, but that Reason, Order, Liberty and Justice are under attack.

Determined and implacable as the men in the Kremlin are; formidable as their apparatus may be, ruthless as are their methods, they are not invincible for there is an inherent and a fatal weakness in the very heart of their conspiracy.

Let me put it in the simplest possible way. Their whole hateful enterprise is based upon a monstrous lie, and no lie, however big, can stand up against the Truth in the light of day.

In this battle for men's minds we are going to expose that lie at every turn and by every means at our command. And, let us put timidity aside for it is not we of the free world who are vulnerable—it is the enemy. From every moral point of view we can lead from positions of immense strength against an enemy who is not only morally bankrupt but who is shot through with spiritual weakness and disease.

And the living proof and symbol of that weakness is the Iron Curtain itself. For it was built by frightened men who were trying

to hide something. Now what is it that the masters of the Kremlin

are trying to hide and from whom are they trying to hide it?

First and foremost, they are terrified lest the Russian people learn the truth about the outside world; lest they learn how free men live and how they think. But most of all, lest the Russian people develop a taste for freedom itself. And they have good cause for that fear.

If proof be needed, let them explain why it is that they are forced to operate an enormous radio jamming apparatus designed to prevent the broadcasts of other nations from being heard by Soviet citizens. No genuine democratic power has ever exercised this type of censorship against its own people. Only the defunct dictatorships of our late common enemies--Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy--so feared their own people that they were forced to this appalling extremity.

Let them explain why it is that they impose such a strict censorship of their own press and radio that only in rare cases are the Russian people able to read the texts of what has been said in debates within the United Nations or the texts of speeches made by officials of foreign governments. Although the words I am uttering tonight will

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be heard or read all over the free world, I shall be very greatly surprised if they are reproduced without abridgment or distortion in any newspaper or in any broadcast emanating behind the Iron Curtain. I shall watch for this with interest.

Yet ideas have a way of escaping, and daylight and truth have a way of doing likewise. In the long run the Iron Curtain will prove no more of a defense against Truth than the Maginot Line proved against the Panzer Divisions.

But there was a second fear that prompted the Kremlin to build the Iron Curtain for that Curtain was intended not only to keep their own people in ignorance of the true state of affairs in the free world, it was also intended to hide the state of affairs within the Soviet Union from the peoples of the free world.

They believed they could hide the inhumanities which have taken place and which still take place behind this blood-spattered curtain.

No one from the outside world--no representative of any international organization--is allowed to inspect the vast slave labor camps of Siberia.

None the less, the news gets out--12,000,000 human slaves cannot be hidden

even by so formidable a barrier as the Iron Curtain nor even in so large a country as Russia.

No one from the outside world has been permitted to see the tens of thousands of unreturned prisoners of war from Japan, Italy, and Germany—all we know is that they did not return home. Time after time an explanation has been asked—but the world is still waiting for their answer.

But, my friends, they will not answer that question because they dare not. Even so the Truth sifts through the curtain. Although the barbed wire and the watchtowers with their guns and floodlights guard every mile from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, and the Mediterranean to the Black Sea, thousands of tormented men and women have passed over into freedom, and with them comes the real Truth.

Now that Truth is as simple as it is appalling. The men of the Kremlin also have a vision of "ONE WORLD". They know as well as we do that it cannot permanently endure half-slave and half-free. Only they propose to make it a slave world and a slave world responsive to their control. That is their only chance, and that is the real reason behind

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their drive for power.

The peoples of the free world have been slow and reluctant in coming to this realization. No one wants to believe the worst of others, and some people even today are still unwilling to attribute so much evil to the Soviet rulers. But the evidence which has accumulated so rapidly of late leaves mankind today with no room for reasonable doubt as to the Krenlin's intentions.

Our reaction to this drive for world power was slow. To answer the question why did we react so slowly, let us turn back the pages of history to 1945 and take a careful look at the record.

In the autumn of 1945, at the time of the Japanese surrender, Russian prestige was at its highest point in history because of the sacrifices and military prowess of her valiant people.

An immense store of good will existed toward Soviets in U.S. and western nations and the ancient suspicions and grudges were gradually being replaced by a better understanding and harmony.

For the first time in centuries, Russia had no formidable potential

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enemy, either upon her western or eastern flank. Her security was complete. An era of lasting peace and reconstruction seemed not only possible but probable.

Could reasonable men doubt that the Soviet Union, with its vast expanses of territory, its almost totally unexploited natural resources, its perfect security from any possible attack—could fail to devote its immense power and energy to the peaceful development of its industry and agriculture and to the well being and prosperity of its people?

Only one nation on earth—the United States of America—remotely approached the power of the Soviet Union, and immediately after the conclusion of the war the United States voluntarily began scrapping the most formidable military apparatus the world has ever known. The British likewise swiftly engaged in dismantling their military establishment.

The United States forces were steadily reduced from the peak of 12,300,000 persons in 1945 to a mere 1,359,000 in 1948 and our naval vessels which were at a peak of 8,200 in 1945 were reduced to only 752 by 1948.

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By 1947 this great fighting machine was virtually liquidated, and a vast reconversion of U.S. and British factories from war to peacetime production had taken place.

What more incontestable proof of the peaceful intentions and good faith of the western Democracies could the Soviet Union have desired?

Was it that they feared an expansion of American and British power? Of course it was not. Since the Japanese surrender, Great Britain has granted independence to India; Holland has granted independence to her colonies in the Pacific; and the U.S. has completed the independence voluntarily granted to the Philippine Islands.

Well before the conclusion of the war, the Soviet Union had annexed the free and independent republics of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania in total violation of her pledged word and by methods of barbaric ruthlessness such as have never been matched in contemporary history.

More than a hundred thousand innocent Baltic citizens were deprived of their property and transported to the infamous slave labor camps in Siberia while Soviet subjects were sent into the Baltic Republics to

take their places. Since then these Baltic nations have become a vast

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Police State where all individual liberty has been obliterated.

Innocent people are subjected to the savage discipline of the MVD and to continuous bloody purges which would have been the envy of Hitler's Gestapo.

Meanwhile, the Kremlin's men in every country were moving to battle stations in preparation for the "final struggle" so long foretold in Communist song and fable.

Remorselessly, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Albania, one free nation after another, wherever Soviet troops were in occupancy, were absorbed into the Soviet Satellite empire by means of rigged elections, kidnappings, purges, and tortures.

In each case the tormented victims have been walled off and held incommunicado from the free world behind a new Iron Curtain. Once again national aspirations and individual liberty alike were crushed out; once again freedom of expression, freedom of movement, and so far as it could be accomplished, freedom of thought were wiped out with the same savagery that had been applied in the case of the innocent Balts.

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But these peoples are not willing victims--free men do not readily give up freedom--and a day of reckoning will surely come.

The peoples of the free world have watched in horror this remorseless pattern of Soviet expansion so grimly reminiscent of the behavior of Nazi Germany under Hitler. They have also watched their own countries subverted by the sinister activities of the Soviet dominated Cominform.

Year by year, month by month, the sordid pattern of Soviet strategy has manifested itself in increasingly unmistakable terms.

Is it any wonder that the United States and the other nations of the free world--who are determined to remain free--have finally reacted?

When we did react, we moved one step at a time. First we pledged our support to Greece and Turkey, two nations which were holding the gates of the Near East in the face of increasing pressure from Communism. Then, when the Kremlin strategists shifted the weight of the Communist assault to Western Europe, we launched the Marshall Plan and brought together 16 nations to work for European recovery. With the aid of these nations we set Western Germany on the road to

rehabilitation, and when the Soviets set siege to the free city of Berlin, we and our British allies improvised the airlift and saved that outpost of freedom. Next we moved to the aid of Yugoslavia, whose government had defied the Kremlin, and we were successful to this extent in rolling back the Iron Curtain. In the following years, together with our European allies, we began to raise a protective shield over the work of recovery.

Though we had started out without a long-range plan or blueprint, we and our allies had set great ideas in motion—the ideas of the Atlantic Community, of European Union, of a coal-steel pool for Western Europe, and of a European defense force.

Frustrated in Europe and the Near East, the Communist strategists turned the main force of their assault to Asia. Even there, where human misery was great and the old order in decay, the power of Communism as an idea had to be backed by the force of arms and a spurious appeal to nationalism. The Chinese Communist armies, supplied and backed by Moscow, advanced across China until they had conquered

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the mainland and stood at the gates of Southeast Asia. At the same time, Communist forces, ranging from guerrilla bands to mass armies, brought terror to Indochina, Malaya, Burma, and the Philippines.

Then the North Korean Communists launched an open attack upon the Republic of Korea, a ward of the United Nations. This was a challenge to the free world as a whole. If it had not been squarely faced, it would have opened the floodgates of disaster in Asia and would leave shaken the faith of the whole free world. But the free world faced it, and, backed by the United Nations, repulsed the North Koreans and the Chinese Communists who had joined them. This military success may well have been a turning point. It was supplemented by a great diplomatic achievement in the face of determined Soviet opposition--the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan which restored that key nation of Asia to the community of nations. These things we have already done.

We intend not only to continue our present efforts but greatly to expand them and that until these terrifying evils are removed from the international scene we propose to prosecute the following course of action:

1. First and most importantly we shall so arm ourselves and so shape our productive industry that in the dreadful event of attack we shall be in a position of impregnable strength.

2. We shall continue to encourage and to aid the nations of the Atlantic Pact to do likewise.

3. We shall continue to call attention to the crimes against peace and humanity that are still being perpetrated by the Bosses of the Kremlin. We shall do this by every means in our power and by every technique of communication available to us. We shall endeavor to see that these issues are thoroughly aired and debated in the appropriate committees in the United Nations,

4. We shall have as one of our major objectives the dissolution

of the Iron Curtain so that the peoples of the Free World can once again communicate freely with the peoples who are now imprisoned behind it.

5. We shall give aid and comfort to all persons who succeed in fleeing the terror of the Iron Curtain countries.

6/ We shall continue to offer sincere proposals for peace and disarmament in the hope that the Soviet Union may eventually decide that the present desperate game they are playing must be abandoned because it is a losing game for them.

Although not one country in all of Europe has voluntarily joined the conspirators of the Kremlin, and although only while the Soviet army was in place and in control of the streets have they been able to establish new police states and slave labor compounds, no one should underestimate the power and violence of the enemy nor the advantages which he possesses. Though he cannot convert the well-informed, he can still confuse the ignorant, and particularly those whose standards of living and conditions of work are far from satisfactory.

And they will not give up the battle until the evidence of their defeat is overwhelming. Like the Nazis before them, they may not give up even then--but they may elect to bring the world down with them in bloody ruins.

The year 1952 is a year of decision.

In some parts of the world the situation may grow worse before it gets better. We must remember that the government of the second strongest power in the world is working tirelessly to make things

worse wherever it can. It is working to permeate the world with a spirit of hopelessness, futility and desperation. It is working to turn men's hearts against us, to make men feel that we Americans are the real disturbers of the peace, that we are deliberately plotting a new war. It is using the armed force of its puppets and the threat of its own military power to accomplish what it could never hope to accomplish by the force of its ideas.

We must meet this challenge--but we must meet it in our own way. Basically, this is not a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union as nations. It is one of the great convulsions of history which a band of conspirators in the Kremlin is seeking to exploit for its own ends. Our role, as we have seen, is to lead the peoples who prize freedom through this period of convulsion so that each nation, in its own way, may be free to enrich our common heritage in an era of peace and human dignity.

This role of leadership cannot be met by unplanned improvisation.

We must remember that in the field of international affairs no major decision or action can be taken by our government without some effect--favorable or unfavorable--on the hearts, the minds of men. Thus it is imperative that the policies we make, the plans we adopt, the acts we perform should be part of, and conform to, an enlightened psychological strategy designed to establish a community of interests in the differing aspirations of America and the peoples who have the will to be free.

Our role of leadership calls for the best in the character of the American people. It requires of our people a spirit of resolution, a willingness to sacrifice, an effort of understanding and a flow of generosity--generosity of the heart even more than generosity of the purse. Perhaps the truest psychological strategy is that we should so conduct ourselves as a nation that we shall appear worthy of the role of leadership which has come upon us.

Our cause is a righteous one. For brave men there is no other course to follow. Although we are contending against the giant forces

of Evil itself, although darkness has already descended upon many
lands, we shall fight our way through to daylight.

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